Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

(Formerly Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia)

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Incorporated 1874

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia
Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904

The two societies merged Twelfth Month 1, 1923, when the older Friends' Historical Association elected to membership all the members of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, which thereupon ceased formally to exist. The society continued under the original name and charter of incorporation.

The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

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	Page
Table of Contents, Number One (Spring)	1
Table of Contents, Number Two (Autumn)	49

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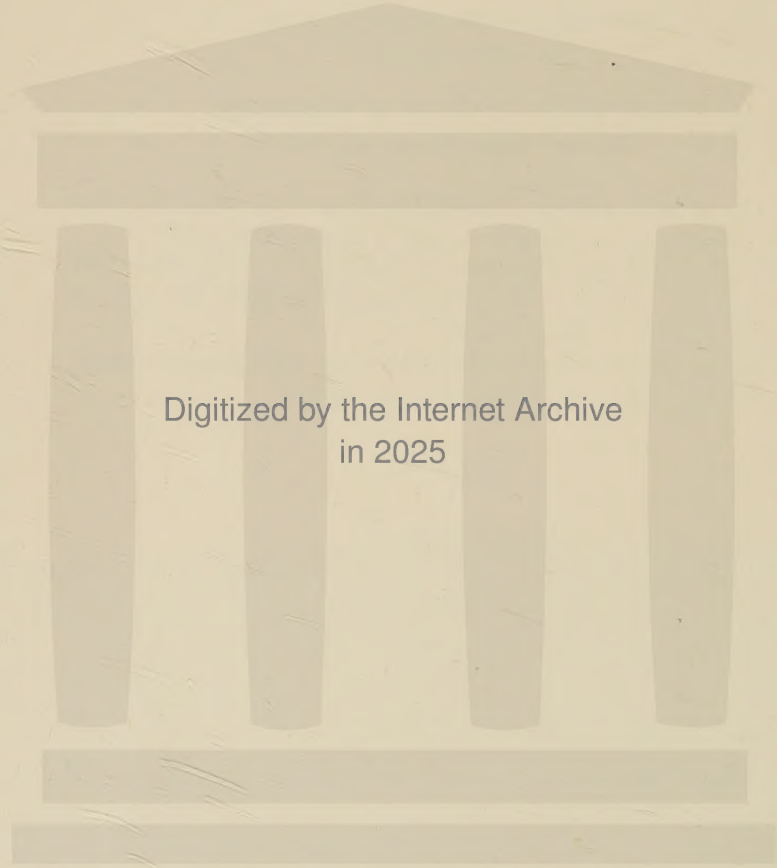
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Volume 32, No. 1 Spring Number, 1943

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE

Annual Meeting 1942 2

In Memoriam: James H. Atkinson..... 4

John Neal, Doctor of American Literature
JOHN A. POLLARD 5

Franklin and the Quaker Movement Against Slavery
ARTHUR STUART PITT 13

Briefer Notices.....HENRY J. CADBURY 31

Quaker Research in Progress or Unpublished..... 38

Book Review
Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, *The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest against Slavery.*
Reviewed by HENRY J. CADBURY 41

Corrections to Membership List..... 42

Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Secretary. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Secretary.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

* Deceased 3d Mo. 19, 1943.

Volume 32, No. 1 Spring Number, 1943

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

ANNUAL MEETING 1942 FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held in the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11 mo. 30, 1942, at 8 p. m. At the business meeting the President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the members elected the Directors listed on the opposite page.

The address of the evening was given by Mr. Arthur Edwin Bye, formerly Curator of Fine Arts, Philadelphia Museum of Art, on "Edward Hicks (1780-1849): Quaker Artist." Mr. Bye told the story, in altogether charming style, of the "discovery" of Edward Hicks, about twenty years ago, by Colonel Henry D. Paxson, and later by Mr. Bye himself, by Mr. Joseph Downs, Curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and by Mrs. Rockefeller, whose purchase of two paintings by Hicks brought the painter much publicity; gave an outline of Hicks's life and work; and illustrated his talk by a considerable collection of reproductions of Hicks's work, which was on exhibition throughout the evening. It is very much to be hoped that it will be possible to print the address, which was not read from a manuscript, in a later issue of the BULLETIN.

The address was followed, as usual, by a collation, during which members and their guests had opportunity to visit with one another in Friendly fashion, and to examine the Hicks exhibit and the many exhibits in the Atwater Kent Museum. The newly elected Board of Directors met 1 mo. 8, 1943, and elected Officers as shown opposite.

ON FEBRUARY 26 Friends Historical Association held its first midwinter dinner at The Whittier, in Philadelphia. We say first because the attendance of two hundred and twelve members and guests suggests that it should be repeated in the future. Accommodations were taxed to their utmost, but everyone seemed contented as the company listened to the four speakers who informed us in delightful fashion of their hobbies. President W. W. Comfort called first on Charles F. Jenkins, a former President of the Association, who told of his historic stone walk and read some of the appropriate sonnets he has written to commemorate it. Next came J. Stogdell Stokes, President of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, who told of his experiences in collecting old Pennsylvania furniture. Then Rufus M. Jones made us all wish that there existed a collection of classic Quaker stories such as those he told us from his own rich repertoire. Finally, Francis R. Taylor gave us a mental glimpse of his large collection of Quakeriana and exhibited his precious first American edition of Sewel's *History* which had belonged to an ancestor two hundred years ago and which he recently purchased in the open market. It was a satisfaction to find that such pleasant and profitable entertainment could be furnished without going outside our own membership.

In Memoriam

James H. Atkinson died at Moorestown, New Jersey, on Third Month 19, 1943, aged 90. He was the honorary Treasurer of Friends Historical Association from the time of the merger with Friends Historical Society on Twelfth Month 1, 1923, to the time of his death. Prior to that time, he was Treasurer and one of the founders of the former organization from its inception on Twelfth Month 4, 1873. He had been a Director from the beginning.

The long and faithful service of this concerned Friend has been an example that is outstanding. He was an Overseer and the Recorder of Green Street Monthly Meeting of Friends for many years, Treasurer of Friends Central School, of the Girard Avenue School, and of Friends Central Bureau at Fifteenth and

Cherry Streets. He was Superintendent of the First Day School at Moorestown, where he led the men's Bible Class. His interest in social improvement in the community of Moorestown, New Jersey, was noteworthy. He was very active in Friends General Conference, which he served in various official capacities, being a member of its Central Committee.

The Directors of Friends Historical Association make this Minute in grateful remembrance of his useful service to the Society of Friends and to this Association in particular.

JOHN NEAL, DOCTOR OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

By John A. Pollard

JOHN NEAL,* man of many facets, was generous, and he was also patriotic. He had, moreover, some literary discernment, and the critical judgments which abound in the *Yankee*,[1] particularly in relation to younger American authors, were not

* John Neal (1793-1876), "author, editor, man of affairs, was the son of a Quaker schoolmaster of the same name" of Falmouth, now Portland, Maine. His early novels, referred to in the following article, had considerable sale. After some wandering, and after having been disowned from the Society of Friends, according to his own account, "for knocking a man who insulted him head over heels; for paying a militia fine; for making a tragedy; and for desiring to be turned out, whether or no," he went to England for four years, returning in 1827 to New York, where he intended to settle and practice law. Hearing of threats because of supposed insults in his novels, he removed to Portland, his birthplace, where he established himself as author, editor, and business man. He was of a fearless but kindly and courteous disposition, a man of great energy and facile ability; but he is judged to have written too hastily and with too little restraint. *Seventy-Six* (1823) and *Randolph* (1823) are accounted the best of some thirteen novels credited to him; *Brother Jonathan* (1825) was published in *Blackwood's Magazine* during his English residence. He also wrote *One Word More* (1854), a religious treatise; an autobiography, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (1869); and a few poems and plays. (*Dictionary of American Biography.*)—Ed.

[1] First brought out under Neal's editorship at Portland, Maine, as a weekly on January 1, 1828, the *Yankee* became the monthly *Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette* in July, 1829, with the poet John W. Miller as co-editor.

always vitiated by the kind of hopeful, bumptious Americanism which infected many of our newspapers and magazines about 1830. If Neal sounded the tocsin perhaps more loudly than any other American literary editor of his time, he also sounded it more clearly. Hawthorne, Longfellow, Poe, and Whittier were among the younger writers in whom he saw promise, and the latter two particularly, in their hard struggles, profited by his sane encouragement.

Upon this head Neal's assertion in his autobiography are modest enough. He wrote that when the *Yankee* was "burning its way into public favor" he had as contributors Chief Justice Appleton, "John G. Whittier, who began his career with me, I believe," [2] Albert Pike, Edgar Allan Poe, Grenville Mellen, J. O. Rockwell, "and half a hundred, more or less, of writers who have since become distinguished. Poe sent his first poems to the *Yankee*, and proposed to dedicate a volume to me; but I discouraged him, saying, that, in the existing state of public opinion, it would be a hindrance instead of a help, and he forebore." [3]

This not too well known rôle of Neal's is explained logically enough. People who get up in life the hard way have frequently the greatest solicitude for younger strugglers than themselves, and equally the strongest attachment to the society whose measure they have taken. To this truism Neal, almost better than any other American literary man of his day, gives point. Apparently a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles of experience during his Maine youth, he yet contrived to order them into a pattern of the successful self-made man. By the age of thirty a Baltimore editor and the author of two narrative poems, a tragedy in verse, and five novels, Neal had even an international reputation and was "the closest American rival of Cooper in fiction." [4] More, he was to live in England, become a contributor to *Blackwood's* and other leading British periodicals, and enjoy the acquaintance of a scattering of England's literary lions before he brought out

[2] Whittier's first contributions, beginning on June 8, 1826, were published in the *Newburyport Herald*, edited by William Lloyd Garrison.

[3] Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, Boston 1869, p. 337.

[4] *Dictionary of American Biography*, xiii, 398.

the *Yankee* in Portland, in January, 1828. He was then in his thirty-fifth year, and well able to esteem himself arrived at a niche in life. The considerable expansion of his fame and fortunes during the next ten years merely justified—if anything could!—the self-gratification which he felt even before thirty-five.

Neal's Americanism, it may be repeated, was intelligent. It had the benefit of a foreign perspective. In accordance with a consistent principle which informed his abundant editorial criticism, Neal advocated a strong native American literature, but above all he advocated quality. In six columns of the *Yankee* (i, 117-119, April 9, 1828) he literally rent Robert Dinsmoor, "The Rustic Bard" of Windham, New Hampshire, for whose inept imitations of Burns the youthful neighboring Whittier had a friendly indulgence.[5] N. P. Willis was among those whom Neal damned with faint praise, and in the *Yankee* for January 23, 1828 (i, 32), he qualified the praise even of his life-long friend Longfellow. His insistence upon quality is manifested succinctly in a sharp reproof published under "To Correspondents" in the issue of August, 1829 (New Series, No. 2, p. 112). Neal wrote:

> T. R. we hope will bear in mind, hereafter, that articles for a Magazine require to be carved with sharper tools, and trimmed with more care than the best of newspaper essays. The art of magazine-writing is the art of *concentration.* It is the portable soup of literature we need—an ox boiled down to what a tea-cup may hold. The flavour and the nourishment may be saved, without *preserving* the garbage—the hide, horns, or hoofs.

Despite his ardent Americanism, nevertheless, Neal was not in any sense anti-British. Quality of whatever nationality won his approbation. Shelley he lauded in the *Yankee* for March 19, 1828 (i, 96), in which issue he reprinted "Stanzas" ("The sun is warm, the sky is clear"). Five weeks later, on April 23 (i, 136), Neal gave to readers of the *Yankee* Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty." On April 16, 1828 (i, 128), he defended and praised Leigh Hunt, whom he knew. Byron he accounted "one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived" (*Yankee*, i, 289-290, September 10, 1828).

[5] Whittier's poem "To the 'Rustic Bard'" was published in the *Essex Gazette*, Haverhill, on February 16, 1828, and also in Dinsmoor's *Incidental Poem*, which Neal reviewed.

Briefly, Neal was in his chief significance a leading advocate of the American literature which was not many years in ripening. Precisely to this advocacy the *Yankee* was dedicated, and even in its last issue (New Series, No. 6, pp. 324-328, December, 1829) Neal fittingly published an editorial entitled "Encouragement of Native Literature." Herein he stated his conviction that "a small tariff on British literature, in the shape of a modification of the law of copy-right, would be of great advantage to our country. . . . Else we never can have a literature of our own, *characteristic, safe, and peculiar.*" Only two months previously Neal had censured the *American Quarterly Review*, of Philadelphia, for its partiality to British authors and its deprecation of native writers (*Yankee*, New Series, No. 4, p. 217).

Neal's first literary comments in the *Yankee* wanted the keen edge which his criticism had at its best. In his opening issue, on January 1, 1828 (i, 8), he extravagantly lauded Grenville Mellen's "Lines: On seeing an Eagle pass near me in the Autumn twilight." To Neal these seemed to contain "a share of the boldest and purest poetry of our age—ay, or of any age." Linked with J. G. Percival's "Genius Waking," which Neal celebrated in the *Yankee* of the following week (i, 16), this performance led him to "speak in a proud language of the poetical minds of our young countrymen, and to hope for their future outbreaking, as *original* writers. If they have not been so hitherto, it has been partly on account of their models from over sea, and partly because they were afraid of being extravagant."

As for Neal himself, the impetuous vigor with which he almost invariably wrote permitted him sometimes little fear of extravagance. When on January 9 he gave his attention wholly to Percival, he confessed that he could hardly, "without appearing to rave," speak of "Genius Waking." Indeed, he could not restrain himself from declaring that

> in the whole compass of poetry with which we are acquainted, we know of nothing more beautiful, or spirited, or warlike than these lines. They are the first of our author's indeed—he must forgive us—that ever appeared to us to be the work of a *great* poet; and we have now only to add, that if he will persevere with the manly, free spirit which characterizes them, and have done forever with self reproach of a feebler sort, he

will have no need of that sympathy which he is eternally affecting to despise, and eternally reaching after (with a shut hand), or holding by, with a grasp that is more like the grasp of a sick child, playing with a toy, than like the gripe of a healthy poet in love with what he describes—God and the green earth, and the birds, and the blue vault of heaven.

In essence, Neal here was merely pleading for the evocation of a strong, vigorous American spirit in literature. By January 23, 1828, the first flush of his native pride was tempered in the *Yankee* (i, 32) to a judicious criticism which summed up a column and a half of detailed comment on Longfellow's "The Spirit of Poetry," reprinted from the *Atlantic Souvenir*. Neal wrote simply:

As for Mr. Longfellow; he has a fine genius and a pure and safe taste. And all that he wants, we believe, is a little more energy, and a little more stoutness.

A week later (i, 37-38) Neal improved this vein of criticism with a six-column review of Willis's *Poems*, just published in Boston. He expressed the hope that he would do no mischief to sensitive poetic souls by speaking out boldly, and before offering a final lenitive in the assertion that "Nobody writes poetry in England now, or nobody in particular," he said of Willis:

Taking it altogether, we might say of him pretty much what we said of Mr. Longfellow last week. Both are poets—both have a quick and pure sense of poetry, and both are destitute of a decided character—of individuality. We never know, when we are reading such quiet, smooth, sleepy stuff, as forty-nine fiftieths of that which they and about forty more writers of our day are in the habit of putting forth, year after year, under the name of poetry, by which of the tribe it has been prepared.

For the remainder of the *Yankee's* life this was to be the settled temper of Neal's criticism. On August 13, 1828 (*Yankee*, i, 260-262), he noticed R. H. Dana's poems, which had been published several months previously. "The Buccaneer" he judged to be "one of the best, and boldest, and most original poems of the age." And yet, Neal regretted, it everywhere smacked of Coleridge, and in a lesser degree of Wordsworth, although passages from it "are enough to show that the author is of the anointed ones." Still, Neal concluded, "The sooner Mr. Dana is 'encouraged to undertake something more than this small beginning,' the better."

The autumn months of 1828, weighed at least in retrospect, must have been exciting to Neal. Whittier swam into his ken in October, and Hawthorne (perhaps incognito) in November. Poor Whittier, not yet twenty-one and driven with an ambition which at this time far outran his skill, wrote almost desperately to his conscripted friend:

My Dear Neal,—I have just written something for your consideration. You dislike—I believe you do, at least—the blank verse of our modern poets and poetesses. Nevertheless, I send you a long string of it. If you don't like it, say so privately; *and I will quit poetry, and every thing else of a literary nature*, for I am sick at heart of the business. . . . Insult has maddened me. The friendless boy has been mocked at; and, years ago, he vowed to triumph over the scorners of his boyish endeavors. With the unescapable sense of wrong burning like a volcano in the recesses of his spirit, he has striven to accomplish this vow, until his heart has grown weary of the struggle.[6]

In January, 1829, Whittier had a modest increase of fortune and became editor of the *American Manufacturer* in Boston. According to a custom well established in the editorial craft, Neal thus had first an opportunity to give the avid Whittier *public* encouragement, and on January 29 (ii, 39) he wrote in the *Yankee*:

MANUFACTURERS' JOURNAL. A new, and as I hear very clever young editor has been appointed to this paper—a *twin* of the Philanthropist: We wish him success; but owing to a rule, established and given out long ago, we cannot exchange.

Finally, from Portland on September 4, 1829, Neal sent Whittier direct praise by letter, precisely the specific needed for his complaint. Patently in response to another communication from Whittier, Neal wrote, in part:

I hasten to reply to you, friend Whittier (being both quakers by birthright, you will forgive the familiarity, I hope), that I may assure you of my good wishes and high respect.
Your poem[7] is beautiful—and if it had arrived a week sooner shd have come forth in the Sept. no. As it is, you will see it in the next——.
The refusal to exchange, did not proceed from any want of kind feeling, nor indeed of sincere admiration for some of your poetry, and prose, but from a principle just then established.

[6] Neal, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[7] Probably "The Minstrel Girl," published in the issue of the *Yankee* for December, 1829. See Currier, *Bibliography of . . . Whittier*, p. 300.

Are you not rather too sensible to what others may say of you to your disadvantage? If so—believe me when I say that I have seen some things attributed to you, of extraordinary worth, and that if you are wise you will not heed the opinion of nobody hereafter, whom you do not believe to be at the same time a man of truth and a man of talent.

* * * * * * * * *

There—I have not written so long a letter to anybody for a twelvemonth; nor ever to a correspondent. By this you will see what I think of you. Persevere, and I am sure you will have your reward in every way.[8]

This same advice was offered in the *Yankee* of November 6, 1828 (i, 358), to the anonymous author of *Fanshawe*: persevere, and you will be an ornament to your native literature. Conceivably Neal knew the fledgling Hawthorne as the author of the novel, which he rightly said bore "marks of haste or inexperience in composition," despite its considerable merit. The remainder of his brief notice, at any rate, is the kind of pabulum prized by a writer offering up his first tentative efforts to criticism. What it meant to the introspective Hawthorne needs no imagining.

Many parts of it [Neal continued] are powerful and pathetic, and there are not a few specimens scattered about the work of excellent descriptive pencilling. The story possesses considerable interest, and although the author has not as yet added greatly to his country's literature, he should be encouraged to persevering efforts by a fair prospect of future success.

Finally, during the waning months of the *Yankee*, Neal registered a prime critical triumph in cheering Poe over the dark and lonely road which nearly every literary apprentice must travel. That Neal's somewhat severe first handling of the temperamental "Israfel" yet gave him his first encouragement, is attested by Poe's own words. In the *Yankee* for September, 1829 (New Series, No. 3, p. 168), Neal admonished:

If E. A. P. of Baltimore—whose lines about *Heaven*, though he professes to regard them as altogether superior to any thing in the whole range of American poetry, save two or three trifles referred to, are, though nonsense, rather exquisite nonsense—would but do himself justice, [he] might make a beautiful and perhaps a magnificent poem. There is a good deal here to justify such a hope.

Otherwise, in characteristic vein, Neal gave Poe the short, sharp word. After quoting several overwritten passages from "Heaven,"

[8] Manuscript letter, unsigned, Essex Institute, Oak Knoll Collection, v, 5.

Neal added a dash of vinegar to the sugar: "He should have signed it Bah! We have no room for others."

But three months later, in the last issue of the *Yankee*, Neal not only found room for printing more passages from Poe's verse; he spoke with obviously proud assurance of the young poet's future place in American literature. In a long article entitled "Unpublished Poetry" (*Yankee*, New Series, No. 6, pp. 295-298, December 1829), Neal pontificated:

> The following passages are from the manuscript-works of a young author, about to be published in Baltimore. He is entirely a stranger to us, but with all their faults, if the remainder of Al Aaraaf and Tamerlane are as good as the body of the extracts here given—to say nothing of the more extraordinary parts, he will deserve to stand high—very high—in the estimation of the shining brotherhood. Whether he *will* do so however, must depend, not so much upon his worth now in mere poetry, as upon his worth hereafter in something yet loftier and more generous—we allude to the stronger properties of the mind, to the magnanimous determination that enables a youth to endure the present . . . in the hope, or rather the belief, the fixed, unwavering belief, that in the future he will find his reward. "I am young," he says in a letter to one who has laid it on our table for a good purpose, "I am young—not yet twenty—*am* a poet—if deep worship of all beauty can make me one—and wish to be so in the more common meaning of the word. I would give the world to embody one half the ideas afloat in my imagination. . . .
>
> I am and have been, from my childhood, an idler. It cannot therefore be said that
>
> 'I left a calling for this idle trade,
> A duty broke—a father disobeyed'—
>
> for I have no father—nor mother.

Poe continued that Neal's judgment, "He might write a beautiful, if not a magnificent poem," contained "the very first words of encouragement I ever remember to have heard," and ended:

> I am very certain that as yet I have not written *either*—but that I *can*, I will take the oath—if they will give me time.

The record speaks. Little remains to be added, either about John Neal the critic or about the promissory notes which he helped to validate for American letters. In two years with the *Yankee* he had served extremely well the native writing for which he stood both advocate and exemplar. He was truly a doctor of American literature.

FRANKLIN AND THE QUAKER MOVEMENT AGAINST SLAVERY

By Arthur Stuart Pitt

ALL THINGS considered, Franklin's career ended in the best possible way. The closing years of his life were devoted to a last grand attempt to do good back in America and in Philadelphia, which was, after all, his real home. Had Franklin died in France, a pampered hero and a public idol, his place in the American legend would undoubtedly be less secure. It must be remembered that he narrowly escaped being a cosmopolite. Of the eighty-four years of his life, he spent twenty-seven in European capitals, and was in America only a quarter of the time during his last forty years. But he came home in 1785, to devote himself to the abolition of slavery in his own country, and to work among his own people. To a great extent the antislavery movement was for Franklin, the Philadelphian, a local issue, and the most sincere and effective efforts in that direction were made by the Quakers of Pennsylvania. Few episodes in his career show more clearly the way in which Franklin came under the influence of his environment, and none indicates more surely his susceptibility to the influence of religious sectarianism.

The facts of his activity in the cause during the last five years of his life can be simply stated. He was elected president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1787, an organization largely composed of Quakers. Two years later, he drew up and signed *An Address to the Public* in which an appeal was made on behalf of the Society for financial support. He then devised the *Plan for Improving the Condition of the Free Blacks,* in which he made proposals for disciplining, educating, and employing the liberated slaves. The petition of the Pennsylvania Society which was presented to the Congress on 12 February 1790 was signed by Franklin, as president, and he may have contributed to its composition. Finally, less than a month before his death, he produced one of his cleverest satires, a Swiftian hoax, *On the Slave Trade,* in which he effectively

replied to Congressman Jackson's attack on the Quaker Abolition movement.[1]

These activities, all important in themselves, are nevertheless only the end-results of Franklin's long interest in and connection with the antislavery movement in America, a humanitarian concern in which the Quakers were, during Franklin's lifetime, the dominant factor.[2] Despite the caution that must be exercised in generalizing about the Society of Friends in the growing opposition to Negro slavery in America, it seems difficult to overemphasize the priority, and the comprehensiveness, of their work. Though it is well to point out that many of the early Quakers were rich slaveholders, that their antislavery sentiment was due not solely to spiritual pre-eminence but in part to economic factors,[3] and that they were not alone in their efforts, it nevertheless remains a fact that they were the first religious group to oppose slavery, and likewise the first to free all their slaves.[4] The first formal protest against slavery in North America took the form of a memorial composed in 1688 by the Germantown Quaker, Francis Daniel Pastorius, and his Quaker associates, and presented to the Friends' Monthly Meeting. In 1693, another

[1] See L. J. Carey, *Franklin's Economic Views*, New York 1928, pp. 81-96; Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York 1938, pp. 774-75.

[2] The best accounts of the influence of the Quakers on the abolition movement are: A. C. Applegarth, *Quakers in Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. x, nos. viii-ix, pp. 385-464, Baltimore 1892, chap. iv: "Attitude of the Quakers toward Slavery," pp. 67-84 [sketchy]; Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, [trans. T. K. Brown, Jr.], New York 1931, chap. vi, "The Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery," pp. 197-233; M. S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America, Radcliffe College Monographs*, no. 11, Boston 1901, esp. chap. i, "The Religious and Moral Movement, 1637-1808," pp. 9-45; A. C. Thomas, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Particularly in Relation to its Own Members," *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, viii (1897), 263-99 [vitiated by several errors of fact]; E. R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, Washington 1911, esp. chap. v, "The Destruction of Slavery-Abolition," pp. 64-88; and the *Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade . . .*, Philadelphia 1843.

[3] Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Quaker, George Keith, published in New York his little pamphlet, *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes*, which was also presented at a Monthly Meeting of the Society, and which is now considered the first abolitionist pamphlet printed in America.[5] The petition pleading for the prohibition of slavery, presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1712 by the Quaker, William Southby, is thought to have been the first of its kind ever to come before an American legislature. Slowly and quietly, they worked for total abolition among themselves, so that by 1780 there were almost no Quaker slaveholders, an accomplishment considered by E. R. Turner, in his sober and exhaustive study, as "among the grandest examples of the triumph of principle and ideal righteousness over self-interest. It may well be doubted whether any body of men and women other than the Friends were capable of such conduct at this time." Outside their own circle, they were about the only sect to combat slavery for humanitarian reasons, with an active program of social betterment. Miss Locke, in her monograph, effectively contrasts the Puritans with the Quakers in this respect: "The Puritans believed in the equality of human souls, but man, as touching nature, was but a worm of this earth; the Quakers believed in the dignity of man and in a human brotherhood which included social equality as well as equality before God and the law. . . ." [6] Finally, their influence extended even to the actual legal suppression of slavery. The abolition act passed in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1780 was mainly the result of the long and unceasing efforts of the Quakers, by means of their numerous memorials, petitions, pamphlets, and instances of personal influence. Of course the Quakers were not the only abolitionists who influenced Franklin, but it is possible to demonstrate that his first interest in slavery developed from the Quaker movement, and that the most important influences and associations connected with his work in the field came from them. The remainder of this section will attempt to record some specific data concerning these associations and influences.

[5] Reprinted in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, xiii (1889), 265-70.

[6] M. S. Locke, *op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 21.

LIKE ALL trends in history, the Quaker antislavery movement had its leaders and spokesmen. While the body of Friends as a whole were slowly reducing their use of slaves under the pressure of their own consciences and the general opinion of the Society, certain Quaker writers and propagandists were striving doggedly and ostentatiously to keep the public mind in a state of turmoil over the issues, thereby inevitably hastening the crises that ensued, and in general formulating and directing the agitation against slavery. This activity began to assume wide importance in the early years of Franklin's residence in Philadelphia, and continued throughout his lifetime. Of these several crusaders, four have achieved significant positions in the history of the movement: Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet. As might be expected, it was Franklin's good fortune to be closely associated with all of them.

The origins of Franklin's interest in abolitionism, and his debt to the Quaker movement, are revealed in his valuable letter to John Wright, written from Philadelphia on 4 November 1789. At the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in 1758, it was unanimously resolved that all Friends should be urged to free their slaves, and that those who continued to own them should be practically ostracized from the Society. Wright apparently considered this the beginning of the whole undertaking, but Franklin hastens to correct him:

. . . The epistle from your Yearly Meeting, for the year 1758, was not the *first sowing* of the good seed you mention; for I find by an old pamphlet in my possession, that George Keith,[7] near a hundred years since, wrote a paper against the practice, said to be 'given forth by the appointment of the meeting held by him, at Philip James's house, in the city of Philadelphia, about the year 1693'; wherein a strict charge was given to

[7] George Keith (*ca.* 1638-1716) was born at Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the University of Aberdeen. He became a Quaker in 1664, and published two important works, *Immediate Revelation not Ceased* (1668), and *The Universall Free Grace of the Gospell Asserted* (1671). He came to Philadelphia in 1689, and became headmaster of the William Penn Charter School. After quarreling with the orthodox Quakers, he entered the Anglican Church in 1700, and became the violent enemy of the Quakers. (*Dictionary of American Biography.*) See E. W. Kirby, *George Keith (1638-1716)*, New York and London [1942], pp. 88-90.

Friends, 'that they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service, &c. &c.' And about the year 1728, or 1729, I myself printed a book [8] for Ralph Sandyford,[9] another of your Friends in this city, against keeping negroes in slavery; two editions of which he distributed gratis. And about the year 1736, I printed another book on the same subject for Benjamin Lay,[10] who also professed to be one of your Friends, and he distributed the books chiefly among them. By these instances it appears, that the seed was indeed sown in the good ground of your profession, though much earlier than the time you mention. . . .[11]

Keith's little pamphlet seems to have left no traces on Franklin's writing except a general humanitarian concern with the unrighteous treatment of the Negroes. The reason is clear: Keith is chiefly interested in proving that keeping men in bondage is contrary to Christian ethics based on the literal interpretation of the Bible. But Franklin was interested rather in evaluating the usefulness and practicability of slavery as an economic measure. To a considerable degree, he derived his knowledge of

[8] *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times* . . ., Philadelphia 1729; 2d ed. had the title *The Mystery of Iniquity; in a Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times*, Philadelphia 1730. Both editions were printed by Franklin and Meredith.

[9] Ralph Sandiford (1693-1733) deserted the Church of England to become a Quaker preacher. He distributed free two editions of his pamphlet, *A Brief Examination* . . . under threat of punishment from the provincial government of Pennsylvania. See G. S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, Philadelphia 1937, p. 78.

[10] Benjamin Lay (1677-1759), born at Colchester, England, was variously employed as a youth, and later became a sailor. Though he always considered himself a Quaker and associated with them, he was technically removed from the Society of Friends in 1717. He was stirred to abolitionist activity by his acquaintance with slavery in Barbados, to which he migrated in 1718. General animosity to his activities among the slaves in Barbados caused him to remove to Pennsylvania, where he settled near Philadelphia in 1731. The book referred to is *All Slave-Keepers that keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates* . . ., printed by Franklin, Philadelphia 1737. (*Dictionary of American Biography.*) His great contribution to the movement was his bringing of the issues before the public eye by means of his eccentric but dramatic showmanship. (See Benjamin Rush, "Biographical Anecdotes of Benjamin Lay," *Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical*, Philadelphia 1806, pp. 296-301.)

[11] *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth, New York 1905-07, x, 61-62. Hereafter referred to as *Writings*.

this aspect of the problem from the books of Sandiford and Lay which he mentions in his letter to Wright.

To understand the full significance of these works in their relation to Franklin, it is first necessary to have some idea of their structure and content. Sandiford's book is a loosely organized essay divided into nineteen sections, but its form is far superior to that of Lay's volume. The latter is exasperatingly prolix and completely amorphous, and represents the mere printing of Lay's collected materials, without unity, order, or coherence. It is a sort of combined journal and commonplace book of random thoughts and extracts from the author's reading. Most of the sections are dated, many of them are signed, and about half of them have nothing to do with the subject of slavery.[12] Both writers devote most of their pages to detailed discussions of the relevant scriptural passages, confuting the interpretations of the proslavery authors who claim that bondage is sanctioned by the Bible. In each book, however, there are occasional economic arguments against slavery. These are practically the only nonscriptural arguments employed by Sandiford and Lay, yet they are the very ones utilized by Franklin in his first publication dealing with slavery, the *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* of 1751.[13]

In this essay Franklin considers the various factors which tend either to accelerate or retard the birth rate. The thirteenth section of the *Observations* comprises a list of six forces which diminish the population of any country, the last of which is "*The Introduction of Slaves.*" [14] The first argument in his demonstration

[12] "He [Lay] wrote a small treatise upon negro-slavery, which he brought to Dr. Franklin to be printed. Upon looking over it, the Doctor told him that it was not paged, and that there appeared to be no order or arrangement in it. 'It is no matter said Mr. Lay—print any part thou pleasest first.' This book contained many pious sentiments, and strong expressions against negro slavery; but even the address and skill of Dr. Franklin were not sufficient to connect its different parts together, so as to render it an agreeable or useful work." Benjamin Rush, *op. cit.* (see note 10), p. 299.

[13] First printed as an appendix to [William Clarke's] *Observations on the Late and Present Conduct of the French . . .*, Boston 1755. Included in Franklin's own pamphlet, *The Interest of Great Britain Considered*, London 1760.

of this assertion is that, by the importation of slaves, "the Poor are by this Means deprived of Employment, while a few Families acquire vast Estates." [14] Since slave labor dispossesses the working white population of its income, they cannot afford to marry and raise families, and hence the population decreases, since it is Franklin's main contention that "the Increase of People depends on the Encouragement of Marriages." In *A Brief Examination*, Sandiford similarly speaks of slavery as "a Crime so much in Request; which promotes Idleness in the Rich, being furnished with slaves, that it hinders the Poor from Bread; which are Evils in the Commonwealth." [15]

Franklin further declares that "Slaves also pejorate the Families that use them; the white Children become proud, disgusted with Labour, and being educated in Idleness, are rendered unfit to get a Living by Industry." This is an argument which recurs frequently in Sandiford's and Lay's pamphlets. Sandiford writes that slavery "eats out the Good like a Canker in many Families where I have dwelt; which I was sensible proceeded from this evil Discipline to our Brethren and Children, whereby we may draw our whole Race after us to Destruction. . . ." Lay puts the same idea into the form of a rhetorical question:

> What, I say, will become of the innumerable Off-spring that is coming up, if all should have Slaves to do their Work within Doors and without, as many has [*sic*], they might or may perish for want of Business, to get a Piece of Bread or a Coat to put on, in the next Generation, and so without end.[16]

Another section of Franklin's *Observations* is also apparently indebted to the publication of Lay's book. The latter reprinted, among the miscellaneous excerpts from his reading, Samuel Sewall's antislavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph*, first published at Boston in 1700. Franklin, of course, may have known Sewall's

[14] *Writings*, iii, 68.

[15] Sandiford, *op. cit.* (see note 8), p. 68.

[16] Benjamin Lay, *All Slave-Keepers*, p. 118. Elsewhere, Lay enters into long tirades against "the proud, dainty, lazy Daughters," (p. 28) and the equally indolent sons, whose sole functions, because their work is done for them by slaves, is "impudently and proudly gossiping from House to House, stuffing their lazy ungodly Bellies." (p. 31.) "These things," he observes, "have been the utter Ruin of more than a few." (p. 29.)

pamphlet in its original printing, but there is no evidence to support this; and, since Franklin's interest in the condition of the slaves did not develop until after his acquaintance with the Quaker agitators, it seems likely that he first came in contact with Sewall's remarks through Lay's reprint. In any event, Franklin seems to have developed, in the *Observations*, at least one of Sewall's ideas—that, after all, slave labor might not be cheap: "It may be a question whether all the benefit received by negro slaves will balance the account of cash laid out upon them."[17] Franklin attempted to prove this conjecture thus:

'Tis an ill-grounded Opinion that by the Labour of slaves, *America* may possibly vie in Cheapness of Manufacture with *Britain*. The Labour of Slaves can never be so cheap here as the Labour of working Men is in *Britain*. Anyone may compute it. Interest of Money is in the Colonies from 6 to 10 per Cent. Slaves one with another cost 30£ Sterling per Head. Reckon then the Interest of the first Purchase of a Slave, the Insurance or Risque on his Life, his Cloathing and Diet, Expences in his Sickness and Loss of Time, Loss by his Neglect of Business (Neglect is natural to the Man who is not to be benefited by his own Care or Diligence),[18] Expence of a Driver to keep him at Work, and his Pilfering from Time to Time, almost every Slave being *by Nature* a Thief, and compare the whole Amount with the Wages of a Manufacturer of Iron or Wool in *England*, you will see that Labour is much cheaper there than it ever can be by Negroes here.[19]

The mere fact that Franklin undertook to print the pamphlets of Sandiford and Lay is indicative of the sincerity of his interest in the slaves, and of his faith in the antislavery efforts of the Quakers. As a rising young tradesman, eager to make all the advantageous connections possible, he was in grave danger of jeopardizing his business and his reputation in printing them. Outspoken though he usually was, he did not even dare to put his name as printer on either title page. The Quaker spokesmen were closely watched by the provincial government and hated by the powerful and rich slave-holding interests, and Franklin could ill afford to incur the displeasure of either. That he took this risk,

[17] Samuel Sewall, *The Selling of Joseph*, reprinted in W. P. Trent and B. W. Wells, eds., *Colonial Prose and Poetry*, New York [1929], ii, 323.

[18] Sewall observes of slaves that "their continual aspiring after their forbidden liberty renders them unwilling servants." Trent and Wells, *op. cit.*, ii, 322.

[19] *Writings*, iii, 66-67.

as well as that of distributing pamphlets during the years 1737-1753 in his capacity as postmaster of Philadelphia, are certain indications of the firmness of his convictions.[20]

In 1762, Franklin and his partner, David Hall, printed the second part of John Woolman's *Considerations on Keeping Negroes.* This pamphlet, one of the best written of the early Quaker antislavery tracts, is largely concerned with the typical discussions of the Biblical allusions to slavery. Franklin's works, however, reflect little from its pages. It is a curious fact that not once in the entire *Journal* does Woolman mention Franklin, though it is difficult to believe that they were not acquainted. Whatever the relationship, we may see by this publication that Franklin continued throughout the years his sponsorship of the antislavery movement and his support of the Quaker spokesmen.

THE YEAR after his arrival in England in 1757 as colonial agent for the province of Pennsylvania, Franklin established connections with the so-called Bray Associates. Thomas Bray (1656-1730), a clergyman of the Church of England, had secured a charter in June 1701 from King William for the incorporation of a society for the propagating of the gospel throughout the colonies. The two chief aims of the society were the foundation of adequate clerical libraries and the establishment of Negro schools. In 1723, Dr. Bray, whose health was failing, delegated a group of men to perpetuate his work after his death. These men and their successors were commonly known as the Bray Associates. At the meeting of the association on 5 April 1758, Franklin, according to the minutes, urged that a school for the instruction of young Negroes be opened in Philadelphia. The school was actually opened in November of that year, and at the meeting of 7 May 1767 Franklin was appointed one of the five attorneys to handle the future property transactions of the foundation.[21]

[20] See Carey, *op. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 66-67.

[21] E. L. Pennington, "The Work of the Bray Associates in Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* lviii (1934), 7, 10. Pennington's article is based on the original minute books of the association. On Bray himself, see *Dictionary of National Biography,* article by the Reverend Canon [J. H.] Overton.

In these ways Franklin gave much practical advice and assistance toward the education of Negroes in Philadelphia. The Bray Associates were not connected with the Quakers, but it was Franklin who had originally suggested the school, and he surely knew of the Quakers' work in Negro education prior to the founding of the Bray Associates' school. To cite but a single example, Benjamin Lay, in *All Slave-Keepers,* had hoped that the owners "would bring up their Negroes to some Learning, Reading and Writing, and endeavour to the utmost of their power in the sweet Love of Truth to instruct and teach 'em the principles of truth and righteousness, and learn them some Honest Trade or Imployment, and then set them free. . . ." Though we do not know of the beginnings of Franklin's friendship with the great Quaker apologist, Anthony Benezet,[22] it is not at all improbable that he knew that Benezet since 1750 had gratuitously taught Negroes at an informal evening school in his home. Franklin's proposal that the Bray Associates found a Negro school in Philadelphia may not only have been suggested by the activities of these Quakers, but also have been his contribution toward assisting them in their efforts.

The last of the four great Quaker abolitionists, Anthony Benezet, was undoubtedly the one Franklin knew most intimately, and the one who influenced him to the greatest extent. Much of their valuable and intimate correspondence survives, and though all the extant letters date from the last two decades of their lives, they seem to imply a friendship of much longer standing. Unfortunately, the time at which their friendship began

[22] Anthony Benezet (1713-1784) was born in San Quentin, Picardy, France. His family, who were Huguenots, removed to London about 1715, and to Philadelphia in 1731. Benezet became a Quaker at the age of fourteen in London. At Philadelphia, he was in the importing business with his brothers, and in 1742, became teacher in the Friends' English Public School in Philadelphia, where he continued for twelve years. His interest in the slaves dates from about 1750. He was a lifelong friend of John Woolman. He taught in a Negro school from 1782 until his death. (Brookes, *op. cit.* (see note 9), *passim.*) His chief works on slavery include: *A Short Account of that part of Africa, inhabited by the Negroes . . .*, Philadelphia 1762; *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies . . .*, Philadelphia 1766; and *Some Historical Account of Guinea . . .*, Philadelphia 1771.

apparently cannot be established from the materials now known, but it was probably as far back as the middle of the century. About the year 1752, Benezet recommended to a certain schoolmaster "*Bailey's Dictionary* . . . to be had at B. Franklin's . . ."[23] but this reference does not necessarily indicate any personal acquaintance. Benezet did meritorious work in raising funds and supplies for the relief of Bethlehem during the Indian raids in 1755 and 1756, when Franklin was organizing the defences of the Moravian settlements, but though Benezet again mentions his name in his correspondence, there is no indication of personal friendship.

The first extant document of the relationship is a long letter from Benezet, dated from Philadelphia, 27 April 1772, though a prior letter from Franklin is acknowledged. Benezet, referring to their mutual efforts in combatting slavery, greets Franklin as "a real friend & fellow traveller on a dangerous & heavy road."[24] Throughout the letter, Benezet discusses the various endeavors then being made "to lay the iniquity & dreadful consequence of the Slave Trade before the Parliament, desiring a stop may be put to it. . . ." He entreats Franklin in particular thus:

> Now dear friend what I would earnestly request is, that thou wouldst let, not only the deep suffering & vast destruction of these our deeply distressed fellow men; but also the corrupting effects it has on the hearts of their lordly oppressors be, as the scripture expresses it, precious in thy eyes. (Brookes, p. 288.)

The appeal was timely and Franklin responded sympathetically. Benezet's letter reached Franklin in England just as the interest in the now famous Sommersett case was at its height. James Sommersett was a Negro slave brought by his master, Charles Stewart, from Virginia to England, where he escaped only to be recaptured. The English lawyer, Granville Sharp, the most prominent abolitionist of his day and later Franklin's friend, obtained a writ of habeas corpus for Sommersett's release. At the hearings on the writ before the Court of King's Bench in December 1771, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield handed down his opinion

[23] Benezet to an unidentified correspondent, *ca.* 1752, Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[24] *Idem*, p. 287.

that slaves became free upon their arrival in England, an event that inspired Cowper's lines:

> Slaves cannot breath in England: if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free.
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall.[25]

Franklin, ever the opportunist, seized this occasion to write for the *London Chronicle*, 18-20 June 1772, an article in which he took the English to task for boasting of this one instance of human liberty, while their slave traders grew rich by dooming thousands of Negroes every year to lifelong bondage:

Pharisaical Britain! to pride thyself in setting free *a single Slave* that happens to land on thy coasts, while thy Merchants in all thy ports are encouraged by thy laws to continue a commerce whereby so many *hundreds of thousands* are dragged into a slavery that can scarce be said to end with their lives, since it is entailed on their posterity![26]

For the statistics of his article, he drew upon Benezet's last letter to him, as the following parallel passages will show:

Benezet's letter to Franklin, 27 April 1772

By a late computation there is now eight hundred & fifty thousand negroes in the English Islands and Colonies; and an hundred thousand more yearly imported by our Nation; about a third of this number is said to perish in the passage, & seasoning, before they are set to labour; the remnant are mostly employed to make up deficiencies. . . .[27]

Franklin's article in the London Chronicle, *18-20 June 1772*

By a late computation made in America, it appears that there are now eight hundred and fifty thousand Negroes in the English Islands and Colonies; and that the yearly importation is about one hundred thousand, of which number about one third perish by the gaol distemper on the passage, and in the sickness called the *seasoning* before they are set to labour. The remnant make up the deficiencies continually occurring among the main body of those unhappy people, through the distempers occasioned by excessive labour, bad nourishment, uncomfortable accommodation, and broken spirits.[28]

On 22 August 1772, Franklin wrote back to Benezet to tell him what he had done:

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[25] *The Task*, ii, 40-42.
[26] *London Chronicle*, xxxi (1772), 592.
[27] Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
[28] *London Chronicle*, xxxi (1772), 592.

I made a little extract from yours of April 27, of the number of slaves imported and perishing, with some close remarks on the hypocrisy of this country, which encourages such a detestable commerce by laws for promoting the Guinea trade; while it piqued itself on its virtue, love of liberty, and the equity of its courts, in setting free a single negro. This was inserted in the *London Chronicle,* of the 20th of June last. . . . I am glad to hear that the disposition against keeping negroes grows more general in North America. . . . Your labours have already been attended with great effects. I hope, therefore, you and your friends will be encouraged to proceed. My hearty wishes of success attend you. . . .[29]

Here Franklin was under the direct influence of the Quaker antislavery movement. He responded to Benezet's appeal directly, and, in writing for the public press one of his brief but caustic articles, he flourished what he knew to be one of his most powerful weapons. His interest in the abolition of slavery, which at first had been chiefly in its economic aspects, was now, under the influence of the Quaker leaders, turning toward humanitarian considerations.

The correspondence between Franklin and Benezet apparently continued until the latter's death in 1784, but the remains of it are fragmentary, and contain only scanty information. In a brief letter of 10 February 1773, Franklin acknowledged Benezet's letter, now lost, of the previous 23 September. With that letter Benezet had sent four copies of his book, *The Plain Path to Christian Perfection* (1758),[30] which he had translated from the French. Franklin also expressed his horror at the accounts of slavery in Surinam which Benezet had sent him. Finally, he announced: "I have commenced an Acquaintance with Mr. Granville Sharp, and we shall act in Concert in the Affair of Slavery."[31] In another letter, of 14 July 1773, Franklin thanked Benezet for a communication of 24 April, also lost, and for an enclosure of pamphlets.[32] One of these was apparently Benjamin Rush's *An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping* (1773), written to accompany the antislavery petitions of the Quakers to the legislatures of various colonies, for this was the tract which Benezet sent to the English Quaker

[29] *Writings,* v, 432.

[30] Reprinted, Philadelphia 1772; see Brookes, *op. cit.,* p. 194.

[31] *Writings,* vi, 9. According to Brookes, *op. cit.,* p. 88, this meeting was arranged by Benezet.

[32] *Writings,* vi, 102.

physician, Dr. John Fothergill, only four days after the above letter to Franklin.[33] Franklin voiced his confidence in the proceedings in North America:

I am glad to hear that such humane Sentiments prevail so much more generally than heretofore; that there is Reason to hope our Colonies may in time get clear of a Practice that disgraces them, and, without producing any equivalent Benefit, is dangerous to their very Existence.[34]

The last letter in the correspondence on the subject of slavery was written by Benezet on 5 March 1783, about a year before his death. In the interval of over ten years since his last extant letter of appeal, the war of the revolution had been fought and the new nation founded, and Franklin, having crossed the Atlantic twice, was now in Paris as minister plenipotentiary to the French Court. But despite these changes, Benezet was still keeping the issues before Franklin's eyes, and sending the inevitable pamphlets. This time he promised to send his own *Short Observations on Slavery* which, he said, he was "at the point of publishing." Benezet appealed to Franklin as a philosopher and statesman, and once again asked for his assistance in spreading propaganda:

Indeed my kind friend the object of Slavery is still an object worthy the deepest consideration of a philosophic mind. Its sorrowfully astonishing that after the declaration so strongly & clearly made of the value & right of liberty on this continent, no state but that of Pennsylvania & that imperfectly, have yet taken a step towards a total abolition of slavery. . . . Might it not be profitably intimated to the leading people with you, the honour as well as the divine blessing which might be expected to attend them as a nation, if they would shew the example to other European Nations in putting an end to the infamous traffick of slaves.[35]

Though these letters are obviously only the scattered remnants of an extensive correspondence, it is clear that Benezet, for a long period of time, exercised a powerful influence on Franklin's thought, and, by flooding him with literature and appeals on the subject, served as a constant stimulus to him. The tone of Franklin's article in the *London Chronicle* in 1772, directly inspired by one of Benezet's letters, is proof that Benezet was largely responsible for Franklin's abandonment of his merely economic interest in slavery and becoming deeply concerned with

[33] Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
[34] *Writings*, vi, 102.
[35] Brookes, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

its humanitarian implications. He seems also to have been the chief agent in winning Franklin over to his direct sponsorship of the Quaker abolition movement.

THE LAST WORK of his own that Franklin published was not only a telling exposure of the specious arguments of the slaveholders, but a whole-hearted defense of the Quaker humanitarianism. The article, in the form of a letter "to the Editor of the Federal Gazette," [36] 23 March 1790, was evoked by the debates in the House of Representatives occasioned by various antislavery petitions recently received. On 11 February 1790, Representative Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania presented, on behalf of Quakers from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, a petition to Congress in session in New York, from the Yearly Meetings of the Friends for 1789, inquiring whether "it be not in reality within your power to exercise justice and mercy, which, if adhered to, we cannot doubt must produce the abolition of the slave trade." [37] John Lawrence also presented an address from the Society of Friends of the city of New York.[37] A debate thereupon arose whether the petitions should be read again and submitted to a committee for consideration. James Jackson, representative from Georgia, rose and desired to know "why the second reading was to be contended for today, when it was diverting the attention of the members from the great object [i. e., public credit] that was before the Committee of the whole? Is it because the feelings of the Friends will be hurt to have their affair conducted in the usual course of business?" [38] In the discussions that followed, Jackson continued to oppose not only any consideration of antislavery legislation, but to vilify the Quakers as well. He argued that there was no money available to compensate the slaveholders for the confiscation of their property, should slavery be outlawed, and that Congress could not prohibit any commercial enterprise simply

[36] *On the Slave Trade* (*Writings*, x, 86-91). *The Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser* was printed and published by Andrew Brown.

[37] Quoted in M. M. Miller, ed., *Great Debates in American History*, New York [1913], iv, 8.

[38] Joseph Gales, comp., *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States* . . . Washington 1834, i, 1225-26.

because it was deleterious to public morals. He was particularly incensed at what he considered the insolence of the Quakers in making special petitions to Congress:

> Is the whole morality of the United States confined to the Quakers? Are they the only people whose feelings are to be consulted on this occasion? Is it to them we owe our present happiness? Was it they who formed the Constitution? Did they, by their arms or contributions, establish our independence? I believe they were generally opposed to that measure: why, then, on their application should we injure men who, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, secured to the community their liberty and property? If Congress pay any uncommon degree of attention to their petition, it will furnish just ground of alarm to the Southern States. But why do these men set themselves up in such a particular manner against slavery? Do they understand the rights of mankind, and the disposition of Providence, better than others? If they were to consult that book, which claims our regard, they will find that slavery is not only allowed but commended. Their Saviour, who possessed more benevolence and commiseration than they pretend to, has allowed of it: and if they fully examine the subject, they will find that slavery had been no novel doctrine since the days of Cain. . . .[39]

On the next day, 12 February, the memorial of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, signed by Franklin, was presented. It begged that Congress would "be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men who alone in this land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage."[40] In the ensuing debate, Thomas Scott of Pennsylvania spoke in favor of the memorial, and Jackson replied with another series of miscellaneous arguments. He asserted that if Scott would refer to the Bible he would find that religion was not against slavery and that he would see "from Genesis to Revelations, the current setting strong that way."[41] Furthermore, slavery was not inconsistent with the concept of national liberty, for "The purest sons of freedom in the Grecian Republics, the citizens of Athens and Lacedaemon, all held slaves."[41]

Jackson, of course, was not the only or the major participant in the debates. But his irksome casuistry, and his refusal to consider the humanitarian issues involved, seem to have aroused Franklin's wrath to an unwonted degree, and his retaliation was

[39] *Idem*, i, 1229.

[40] Quoted in Miller, *op. cit.*, iv, 12.

[41] Gales, *op. cit.*, i, 1242.

the letter to the *Federal Gazette*, in which, under the guise of innocent simplicity, he exposed the false values in Jackson's speeches by as clever a satire as he ever penned. Purporting to be quoting the speech of "Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers," as recorded in "Martin's Account of his Consulship, anno 1687," Franklin parodied Jackson's remarks by putting them into the mouth of the fictitious Turkish politician, who used them to defend the enslavement of Christians, and to discredit "the Sect of Erika,"—that is, the Quakers.

It is hardly necessary to say that Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim employs many of Jackson's arguments. He too asks if they are to disturb the present structure of society to "gratify the whims of a whimsical Sect." [42] He likewise asks who is to indemnify the slaveholders for their losses, and argues that his country is not the only state tolerating slavery, by referring to "Spain, Portugal, France, and the Italian states govern'd by Despots, who hold all their Subjects in Slavery." [43] He concludes his speech by citing the authority of holy writing, just as Jackson had done:

> How grossly are they mistaken in imagining Slavery to be disallow'd by the Alcoran! Are not the two Precepts, to quote no more, '*Masters, treat your Slaves with kindness; Slaves, serve your Masters with Cheerfulness and Fidelity*,' clear Proofs to the contrary? [44]

Franklin was thus able to expose the futility of Jackson's arguments by showing that any act of inhumanity could be defended with such sophistry. Few would undertake to justify the practices of the Turkish pirates in enslaving Christians; yet the rationalizing of Jackson was as adaptable to the brigands as to the traders in African Negroes. The analogy was probably a common one, but there is a distinct possibility that Franklin found the suggestion for his satire in Lay's *All Slave-Keepers . . .*:

> W. B.[45] in his Preface,[46] mentions something of the Lord's dealing with him, when he was about about [*sic*] 10 or 12 Years of Age, which I

[42] *Writings*, x, 88.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[45] William Burling.

[46] To *An Address to the Elders of the Church upon the Occasion of Some Friends compelling certain Persons, and their Posterity, to serve them continually and arbitrarily . . .*, 1718. Lay reprints the work in *All Slave-Keepers . . .*," pp. 6-10.

suppose is about 50 Years ago, then there was much Discourse about many *English* and *Dutch* People, being taken into *Turky,* or by the *Turks* into Slavery, and sold in the Market, for Term of Life, as Beasts in the Field. As our brave Christians so call'd do, and have done for many Years in *Philadelphia,* and elsewhere in *America,* by the poor Negroes, which is ten times worse in us; all things consider'd; but what crying, wringing of Hands, what Mourning and Lamentations there was then by their Relations, Wives for their Husbands, Parents for their Children, Relations for their Friends, one Neighbour for another! what exclaiming against the *Turk* for his Tyranny and oppression, and cruel Dealing and Treatment, towards their Friends, and may be cursing and calling for Damnation to him and his God too.

Well my Friends, consider of it, and make an Application suitable to the circumstance of your own Slaves. . . .

All available evidence indicates that the movement instituted by the Society of Friends for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade is not only mainly responsible for Franklin's interest in this reform, but the chief factor in altering his interest in the institution from a purely economic concern to the broader humanitarian issues. That Franklin was not even more active in the movement is largely due to the fact that most of the actual anti-slavery legislation which resulted from the Quaker agitation occurred at times when he was either completely engaged in other affairs or absent from the scene of action. When a duty of ten pounds on each slave imported into Pennsylvania was assessed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1761, and this duty raised to twenty pounds in 1773, Franklin was in England as colonial agent. When the law providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves was passed in 1780, he was in France as minister plenipotentiary to the French court. These diplomatic duties obviously gave him little leisure for other activities. When he became president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1787 he was eighty-one; and hence contributed his reputation rather than his active service to the cause.

Nevertheless, much that he wrote on the subject influenced sentiment and legislation against slavery. It has been said that his writings "contain all the fundamental ethical and economic arguments against the institution of slavery."[47] He wrote, furthermore, not only in favor of abolition but in defence of the

[47] Carey, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

Quakers who chiefly instigated and supported the movement. He was never moved to identify himself with the faith, but, forming the conviction that their efforts in this respect were in behalf of a new social order which would lead to economic and humanitarian improvement, he sponsored them to the best of his ability. It is one more proof of the contention that Franklin's principal interest was in the utilitarian aspects of religious society, and also that he drew for his ideas upon any movement or theory which seemed to him justifiable and useful.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

PROFESSOR Charles M. Andrews, of New Haven, Connecticut, and Jupiter, Florida, has made a careful study of the account first published by Reiner Jansen for the Friends of Philadelphia in 1699 of a distressing journey taken by a group of persons shipwrecked near Jupiter Inlet to St. Augustine in 1696. Some of his findings, especially those of a bibliographical character, are included in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, xxi (1942), pp. 107-126, under the title "God's Protecting Providence, A Journal by Jonathan Dickinson."

"QUAKER STREET" is the title of an article by James R. Gordon in *Common Ground* (Winter 1942, pp. 104-108), telling of life in his boyhood among the Friends and Irish of the community so named in Westchester County, New York.

AT THIS late date attention may be called to an enthusiastic and well documented article by Charles Lyon Chandler on "William Penn as a Business Man" in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, vol. 215 (1933), pp. 445-453. He finds among the causes of Penn's success his business background in England, the burden of religious persecution in England and Europe, the skilful colonial advertizing even in Europe, his establishment of a postal system and of good roads, his prompt introduction of foreign trees and of the printing press, etc., and his conciliation of the Indians. The article ends with some remarks on Penn and piracy, on the anachronisms of West's picture of William Penn and the Indians, and on his foresight in anticipating the best features of the United States Constitution.

"VOLUNTEERS for International Service," by William Henry Chamberlin in *The Christian Century* for November 25, 1942 (vol. lix), pp. 1453-55, deals with A. F. S. C. work camps in Mexico.

THE GRANDOM Institution was incorporated in 1841 and is still managed by Friends to carry out the will and bequest of Hartt Grandom (1778-1840) for the relief of the poor in Philadelphia and for assistance of young men who need it in starting upon their careers. It celebrated a century of service by publishing some of its history in a pamphlet in 1942 (illustrated by a silhouette of the founder).

THE FRIENDS Service Council in London published in a 24-page pamphlet an account of *Quaker Service in Spain 1936-40*. It describes the development of the needs and the response of English and American Friends to them throughout the Civil War on both sides of the conflict until the withdrawal in July, 1940.

EMERSON B. ROBERTS has contributed another biographical and genealogical essay to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 37 (1942) 311-326, under the title "Some Friends of 'ye Friends in ye Ministry'." It deals with some of the first Quaker families in Talbot County, Maryland, who were there when Fox visited Maryland in 1672, and who built Third Haven Meeting House in 1683, "the oldest Meeting House in America" still standing. The families dealt with are Dixon, Gary, Harwood, Christison, Sharpe.

"THE FIRST Natural History Lectures at Brown University, 1786, by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse," is the title of an illustrated paper by J. Walter Wilson in the *Annals of Medical History*, third series, vol. iv (1942), pp. 390-398. The paper adds another "first" to the Quaker who was the first person to introduce vaccination into America and was the first professor of medicine in the Harvard Medical School; for Waterhouse was probably the first professor of natural history in any American college.

FOR SOME YEARS William S. Middleton has been contributing biographies of Philadelphia physicians to *Annals of Medical History*, including several Quakers like Caspar Wistar, Jr., and John Morgan. In the third series of the *Annals* appear his illustrated articles "Thomas Cadwalader and his Essay" in vol. iii (1941), pp. 101-113, and "Joseph Parrish, Quaker Preceptor" in vol. iv (1942), pp. 342-369. Dr. Cadwalader (1707-1779) wrote "An Essay on the West India Dry Gripes" on lead poisoning, dedicated to and printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1745. Though not, as sometimes claimed, the first medical monograph published in America, it was a notable work by an outstanding colonial Quaker physician. Parrish (1779-1840) was an important medical teacher and writer in Philadelphia.

"THE QUAKER Meeting-House of Lee, New Hampshire" is the subject of an article by Frank O. Spinney in *Old-Time New England*, xxxiii (1942), pp. 6-12, illustrated by a contemporary photograph and two

plans. It was built in 1774 under the approval of Dover Monthly Meeting, but its meeting was discontinued in 1846; whereupon Moses A. Cartland, on whose land it was located and who had just been disowned for marrying out, adopted it for a private school until his death in 1863. Soon afterwards the religious or academic use of the house ended.

DOROTHY HIERONIMUS has written and the American Friends Board of Missions at Richmond, Indiana, has published each year recently an illustrated pamphlet on some field of Quaker service. The list is: *Friends in Tennessee*, 1939, 24 pages; *Friends in Cuba*, 1940, 28 pages; *Friends and the Western Indians*, 1941, 39 pages; *Friends in Mexico*, 1942, 31 pages. An earlier similar pamphlet was *Friends in Jamaica*, 1931, 23 pages.

OF MORE than transient value is the brief bibliographical account by Fred J. Tritton on "Quaker Literature in Other Languages" which appears in *Friends World News*, No. 8 (1943), pp. 2-3. It summarizes the polyglot output of Quakerism in the first decades, after the Napoleonic War, and after the First World War.

AMONG the monographs appearing under the heading *Indiana Historical Society Publications* is "A History of Spiceland Academy 1826-1921" by Sadie Bacon Hatcher (vol. 11, no. 2, Indianapolis 1934, pp. 97-174). In seven chapters and five appendices are presented fully the general history and details of curriculum and personnel.

AN EXTENSIVE article and an appendix have been contributed by Dorothy M. and William R. Quynn to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 37 (1942), pp. 227-254 and 400-413, on Barbara Frietschie [*sic*], in the course of which Whittier's use or misuse of the facts in his poem is discussed with quotations from his letters.

THE January, 1943, issue of *Equal Rights* (vol. 29, no. 1), the organ of the National Woman's Party, is devoted to material on Lucretia Mott (including a portrait), or on the Equal Rights Amendment named for her. The principal authors are Lloyd C. M. Hare, Anna Kelton Wiley, May Frank Rhoads, Senator Guy M. Gillette, Representative Louis Ludlow, Dr. Lena Madesin Phillips.

"*PENNSYLVANIA CAVALCADE*, one of a series of volumes dealing with the Commonwealth as a whole, is designed to tell the story of Pennsylvania in episodic high lights, giving the reader a sweeping picture of the State's growth and evolution from a primitive Delaware Valley settlement to the highly industrialized Commonwealth of today." So begins the preface of a noteworthy production of the Pennsylvania Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942, 462 pp.). Ignoring largely political

and military history, its thirty-six short chapters are divided almost equally among historic places, historic high lights, experimental settlements, and transportation. Each chapter has a substantial bibliography. The volume has an index but no notes. Some samplings reveal such errors as 1686 for 1688 (the Germantown antislavery petition), and "William Lloyd and Charles Berleigh" as antislavery orators. These are in the chapter on the Christiana Riot. Other chapters of special interest to Friends are those on Pennsbury Manor, on Stenton, and on the Yellow Fever Epidemic.

ON OCTOBER 1, 1941, a marker was unveiled to celebrate the discovery on the same day in 1765 by John Bartram, the Quaker botanist, of the famous *Franklinia altamaha,* a member of the camellia family. Since 1790 no specimen of the tree has been seen in the wild anywhere; present cultivated plants are probably from the seeds which William Bartram transplanted in 1777 to his garden near Philadelphia. The marker was presented by the Long County Garden Club and the Georgia State Parks Division, and is located on the Oglethorpe highway near the Altamaha River, but about eighteen miles north of the original site in McIntosh County.

"CULTURE with a 'Thee and Thou'" is the title of a chapter on Philadelphia in T. J. Wertenbaker's *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (New York Univ. Press, 1942, pp. 62-84). He regards Quakerism as both an obstacle and an aid to the development of culture. But Friends' indifference to higher education and hostility to music and the theater were more than balanced by their toleration of those who disagreed with them.

PROFESSOR Arthur G. Dorland's article "A Hundred Years of Quaker Education in Canada: The Centenary of Pickering College" in *The Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (third series, section ii, vol. xxxvi (1942), pp. 51-91) is a substantial companion to the several volumes on the sectional history of Quaker education in America. The story it tells is based on written records and on the author's own intimate knowledge of the later years. And what a story it is! For here was a Quaker institution which rose again and again from disaster. Its continuity was interrupted once by a failure of interest (1865-78), once by a separation (1885-1892), once by a fire (1905-9), and once by a war (1916-1927). Like other colleges it began as a boarding school, and before its present location at Newmarket, Ontario, it had different situations. All these vicissitudes along with changes of curriculum, of educational method, and of personnel are told with satisfying clarity. Besides reprints in the usual form from the *Transactions,* Pickering College has prepared others bound in a light blue color with its seal, or with no cover.

THE Committee on Education of Friends General Conference issued in 1942 in pamphlets of less than twenty pages each the following Quaker biographies: *Elias Hicks*, by Marguerite Hallowell; *Lucretia Mott*, by Shirley Spain; *Rufus M. Jones*, by Jane P. Rushmore, and *John Woolman*, by Amelia W. Swayne. These are intended for the use of young people of the junior high-school grade, "interpreting the lives of the men and women who have made important contributions to Quaker history." A fifth pamphlet of the same size and imprint and date, on *John Wilhelm Rowntree*, by Rufus M. Jones, is written for maturer persons.

"THE ROGERENES" is the subject of an article written on the basis of extensive research by Ellen Starr Brinton and published in the *New England Quarterly*, 16 (1943), pp. 3-19. Founded about 1674 near New London, Conn., by John Rogers, this group, known also as Rogerene Quakers or Quaker Baptists, shared the experiences of persecution that befell the Quakers, and accepted at one period or another most of the Quaker testimonies, including consistently and continuously that against war. They are mentioned by Quaker travelers who visited them and they were apparently influenced by Friends. About 1712 they moved nearer to Mystic, Conn., and formed a separate community known as Quakertown. A printed bibliography of their many but rare publications is promised.

LUCRETIA COFFIN, later Lucretia Mott, was born January 3, 1793. Several articles commemorating the sesquicentennial have been published: "Release to the Captives," by Ramona Sawyer Barth in *The Christian Register* (Unitarian), vol. 122 (January, 1943), pp. 15-16; "Lucretia Mott," by Jeannette Marks, an address given in the Capitol at Washington, *Congressional Record*, January 11, 1943, No. 4, page A99 ff.

A BRIEF account of Quakerism was published in Swedish at Helsingfors in 1937 in *Finsk Tidskrift för vitterhet, vetenskap, konst och politik* (vol. 123, pp. 252-259). The title was "Kväkaranda," the author E. Gadolin Lagerwall. Based largely on Ruth Fry's books, *Quaker Ways* and *A Quaker Adventure*, it is an appreciative summary of the spiritual achievements of the Society of Friends.

AMONG twenty chapters on twenty persons arranged chronologically from Moses to Gandhi one chapter deals with George Fox (pp. 201-213) in a readable book by Henry Thomas [Schnittkind] and Dana Lee Thomas, called *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* (Garden City Publishing Co., 1942). He is regarded as a militant pacifist and a proclaimer of independence for slaves. Some other statements about him are as unfamiliar to us, as some of the associate subjects in the book would have been to him. Perhaps the novelty of reading about George Fox and

Zoroaster, Jesus, and Brigham Young within the covers of one book will attract some readers.

"*OCCASIONAL VERSES*" by Agnes L. Tierney is a pamphlet printed by her friends for her seventy-fifth birthday on February 13, 1943. The verses, some of them heretofore unpublished and many in lighter vein, include among others birthday tributes to George Fox (300th), Rufus M. Jones (57th and 70th) and Elisabeth T. Roberts, poems on William B. Harvey, Stanley R. Yarnall, and Jane and Henry Bartlett, and on the all-American Friends Conference (1920), ending with one "In Friends' Meeting."

A FURTHER contribution by Henry J. Cadbury to the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (see this BULLETIN 31:94) is printed in vol. 9 (1942), pp. 195-7, under the title "186 Barbados Quakeresses in 1677." Based on a list arranged by meetings and sent by Ralph Fretwell to Rebecca Travers for the Box Meeting in London, the names are here given in alphabetical order. Only 13 of these names appear in Besse's list of sufferers on the island.

IN Flora W. Seymour's *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941) is much of interest to Friends, for it extends from before the inauguration of President Grant's peace policy until after the career of General Hugh L. Scott. Beside mention of other individual Friends there is a chapter, based largely on the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on Laurie Tatum, agent to the Kiowas and Comanches (pp. 83-105).

AMONG recent articles in the *Negro History Bulletin* having Quaker subject matter may be noted "A Method of Action" in vol. 4 (1940-41), pp. 70 f, by Charlotte Winnemore; "Freedom and Education in New York" in vol. 5 (1941-42), pp. 27, 47, by Rufus Gibson; "The Negro in Pennsylvania" (*ibid.*, pp. 52-58); "The Negro in New Jersey" (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 70); "John Greenleaf Whittier Abolition Poet" in vol. 6 (1942-43), pp. 54, 64, by Beatrice Jackson Fleming; "Benjamin Lundy" (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 93, by Carolyn E. Welch); "Anthony Benezet" (*ibid.*, pp. 81, 94 f., by Annie E. Duncan); "Lucretia Mott" (*ibid.*, pp. 76, 91 f, by Naomie E. Newman).

IN Nelson R. Burr's *Education in New Jersey, 1630-1871*, the fourth volume of the Princeton History of New Jersey (Princeton Univ. Press, 1942, 355 pp.), there is a chapter entitled "Quaker Schools: Cloistered Heart and Open Mind." Using principally Woody's *Quaker Education in New Jersey* and other printed sources (he makes no reference to firsthand use of the minutes), he gives a satisfactory summary of a typical movement in American Quakerism.

WRITING in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (67 (1943), pp. 1-29) on "Philadelphia Medical Students in Europe, 1750-1800," Whitfield T. Bell, Jr., has been able to give from correspondence a very full picture of the experience of Philadelphians at London or Edinburgh, more than half of them Friends or of Friendly connection, like Samuel Powel Griffits, George Logan, Charles Moore, John Morgan, Thomas Parke, Jonas Preston, Jonathan Potts, and Caspar Wistar, Jr. The extracurricular interest of the medicos from staid Philadelphia in the ladies and the social diversions of the British capitals apparently interfered less with their professional career than with their Quakerism.

THE local history of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, and its neighborhood is reflected in "Extracts from the Diaries of Susan W. Yerkes" by Bertha S. Harry in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, iii (1942), pp. 182-202. The diarist, who was an attender but not a member of the meeting, died in 1892. The years 1853-55 and 1866-82 are represented in the surviving diaries and in these extracts.

FRIENDS will find two chapters of special interest in the autobiography of Alice Hamilton, M.D., entitled *Exploring the Dangerous Trades* (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1943, 433 pp.). "Europe in 1919" (pp. 223-251) tells of her visit to Germany with Carolena Wood and Jane Addams which led to the extensive relief in Germany by English and American Friends. Her account of "Russia in 1924" (pp. 318-352) also tells of close contact with Quaker relief work and relief workers.

ALFRED HILLS contributes to the *Essex Review*, xlix (1940), 173-181, an article, with a portrait, on "David Barclay of Walthamstow," the Quaker banker (1729-1809).

THE *Bucks County Historical Society Papers*, vii (1937), 425-429, contains a history of the building of the Doylestown Friends Meeting House in 1834-1839, from manuscripts of Samuel Hart, an early trustee of the meeting.

ON Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), Quaker educator, the following articles may be noted: Joseph J. McCadden, "Joseph Lancaster in America," *Social Studies*, xxxviii (1937), 73-77; by the same author, "Joseph Lancaster and Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History*, iv (1937), 6-20; David Salmon, "Portraits of Joseph Lancaster," *Notes and Queries*, vol. 179 (1940), 290-291 (illustrated).

OLD York Road Historical Society Bulletin, i (1937), includes an article by Francis R. Taylor on his hobby, "The Cult of the Quaker Novel" (pp. 14-22), and one by Arthur H. Jenkins on "The Significance of the History of Abington Meeting" (pp. 23-35).

THE INFLUENCE of William Bartram's *Travels* on British and French literature is now well known. But a case of his influence on American fiction is shown in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 184 (1943), 154 f, by H. H. Scudder, who traces the influence of Bartram's famous description of alligators upon a passage in *Nick of the Woods* by Robert Montgomery Bird.

A BRIEF article by Robert E. Keighton in *The Chronicle*, vi (1943), 49-56, deals with "A Layman's Ministry: John Price Crozer, 1793-1866." Crozer became an influential leader and benefactor of Baptist institutions in Pennsylvania, but his early environment was Quaker and he was born in the Benjamin West House, now on the campus of Swarthmore College.

"MINUTES of Nantmeal Preparative Meeting," beginning Nov. 6, 1781, are published in the *Chester County Collections* (West Chester, Pa.) starting with No. 10, 1938, and continued in later numbers.

RAYMOND GIBSON COWHERD'S doctoral dissertation on *Protestant Dissenters in English Politics 1815 to 1834* (University of Pennsylvania, 1942, 139 pp.) shows in the perspective of extensive and well documented research the part played by Friends in the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, in the reform of Parliament, in the agitation against slavery, and in other organized campaigns. The Gurneys and their associates, both Quaker and non-Quaker, the latter including Thomas Fowell Buxton and William Wilberforce, figure prominently in the story told of these two decades. A similar study of the later period by the same author is in preparation.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices that have appeared in recent issues of the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Cecil L. Boltz, 20 Willow Road, London N. W. 3, England. *Trimmer's Son.* (A life of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, in relation to his

ancestry and his times and to Quakerism. Based on research into MSS and State Papers; contains new information and interpretation.) Completed.

Janna Burgess, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. *The Influence of Elias Hicks on Walt Whitman.* (An analysis of the philosophy of Hicks as expressed in his journal, a listing of the contacts between Hicks and Whitman, and references which they made to each other in their writings.) Completed.

Edward E. Chandlee, Moylan, Delaware County, Pennsylvania. *Six Quaker Clockmakers.* (A descriptive clock book of 288 pages containing 160 illustrations of clocks, dials, and works; with historic data and biographical sketches of the six Quaker clockmakers.) To be published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, June 1, 1943.

John Van Gelder Forbes, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. *A Short Account of the Collection, Administration, and Distribution of Relief for Spanish Civilians by the American Friends Service Committee during the Spanish Civil War.* University of Rochester. History. M.A. 1942. Completed.

Elizabeth Chandlee Forman, Haverford, Pennsylvania. *Old Cecil Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.* (Historical sketch of the meeting, which was founded before 1698.) Completed. Privately printed in New York City.

Raymond G. Cowherd, 6 E. Haddon Avenue, Oaklyn, New Jersey. *Protestant Dissenters in English Politics 1835-1870.* (Considers religious influences in Education, repeal of the Corn Laws, Peace, and the Second Reform Bill; includes the work of Joseph John Gurney, Thomas Fowell Buxton, John Bright, Joseph Sturge, and others.) Completed to 1846. Publication planned in 1945.

George School History Committee, George School, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. *History of George School.* Partially completed.

Arthur A. Hillinger, 1729 Anthony Avenue, Bronx, New York City. *National Antipathies in Colonial New York during the Seventeenth Century.* (Includes, under Dutch-English antipathies, a short section on the Quakers.) Columbia University, Political Science. M.A. 1941.

Cecil E. Hinshaw, Friends University, Wichita, Kansas. *The Doctrine of Perfectionism in the Society of Friends and in Kansas Yearly Meeting.* (A study of the importance of perfectionist teaching in the Society of Friends.) Partially completed.

Margaret L. Kane, 1206 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware. *The Development of Secondary Education in Delaware.* (Chapter I contains account of visit of George Fox to New Castle and the Friends meetings established in Delaware.) University of Pennsylvania, Education. Ph.D. Partially completed.

Gilbert H. Kilpack, Park Avenue Meeting, Baltimore, Maryland. *Quaker and Catholic Mysticism.* (A study of the common historical roots of the Quakers and Catholics.) Oberlin, Philosophy, A.M. 1942. Partially completed.

Bernhard Knollenberg, 300 Ogden Street, New Haven, Connecticut. *The Whitewater Valley, 1803-1853. Quaker Stronghold of the West.* (A pioneer history of the Whitewater Valley in general and the Friends' settlements in particular.) Almost completed.

Atlanta Brown Lipscomb, 20 Elmwood Avenue, Montclair, New Jersey. *The Status of the Negro in New Jersey during the Period 1763-1804.* (Includes several references to Friends in connection with antislavery activities, especially John Woolman, and in Quaker education.) Columbia University, Political Science. M.A. 1942.

George Roger Mayhill, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana. *Speaker Cannon Under the Roosevelt Administration, 1903-1907.* (Explanation of how Speaker Cannon's power grew during the Roosevelt period.) University of Illinois, History. Ph.D. 1942. Partially completed.

Helen Adele Miller, 123 College Place, Syracuse, New York. *The Early Life of Susan B. Anthony, 1820-1853.* (This study shows how Miss Anthony became interested in woman suffrage.) Completed.

Othniel A. Pendleton, Jr., 413 High Street, Philadelphia, Pa. *The Influence of Evangelical Churches upon Humanitarian Reform. A Case Study of Philadelphia, 1790-1840.* (Incidental references to the Quakers and their part in social reform in Philadelphia.) Pennsylvania, History, Ph.D. Autumn 1943. Partially completed.

Juliet Reeve, Friends University, Wichita, Kansas. *Relation of Daniel Defoe to the Quakers.* (An attempt to discover how far Defoe was influenced by the Quakers; also which Quakers were most significant.) University of Wichita, English. M.A. 1942.

Harriet Sampson, 50 East 67th Street, New York City. *Dr. Faber and his Celebrated Cordial.* (Biographical sketch of the German physician, Albertus Otto Faber, c. 1612-1684, in Restoration England; including his arrests and banishment, and an examination of his pamphlets with especial reference to the sources of *De Auro Potabili* and seventeenth-century theories of metabolism.) Completed.

Arthur W. M. Voss, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois. *A Study of Biglow Papers of James Russell Lowell.* (Brings out influence of Quaker contacts of Lowell while in Philadelphia in 1845, on the antiwar and antislavery aspects of this poem.) Yale, English. Ph.D. 1941.

BOOK REVIEW

The Free Produce Movement: A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series xxv), by Ruth Ketring Nuermberger. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1942. ix+147 pp.; $1.00.

IN this well documented monograph the author follows up her earlier study of Charles Osborn with the results of extended research into the organized movement among Friends to avoid the use of slave-grown products, especially sugar and cotton, by securing products raised with free labor. From about 1817 to the Civil War in various parts of America local free-produce societies were founded, stores for the sale of such products were established, and newspapers or special periodicals were used to promote the campaign. There was a similar movement even earlier in England and there was much spontaneous individual abstention. On both sides of the Atlantic Friends were a major part of those so concerned. It would be possible to name other English pamphlets besides those that Mrs. Nuermberger mentions, and to point to other individuals in America who early abstained beside Woolman and Hicks. As an example of the former I would suggest the early English editions of *An Address to the People of Great Britain*, whose author was William Fox; among the latter Joshua Evans of New Jersey (1731-1798). But Mrs. Nuermberger's purpose is to trace the organized movement and in doing so she has succeeded in uncovering an unexpected amount of data, and in presenting it with all the skill and accuracy that one would associate with the best elements of her profession as a librarian.

The most conspicuous single figure in the movement, probably the most important and certainly the best known, is George W. Taylor, who promoted the campaign as editor, as field agent, and as store director in Philadelphia. His papers and letterbooks are the principal manuscript source used.

The story told raises various questions. Why, for example, did so many of the more conspicuous antislavery and abolition leaders pay to this movement so little serious attention? Why did it appeal so much to Friends? It is a rather unique feature of Quaker social technique, perhaps the nearest approach that Friends ever made to the method of boycott, just as the Underground Railroad is almost unique in Quaker history in its use of deception in breaking the law. It may be doubted however whether the Free Produce movement had either as its aim or as its result an appreciable interference with slave industries. It was to satisfy the conscience that wished to be consistently free from complicity with the iniquitous institution. In promoting it men and women were able to implement their objection to slavery in a personal way not unlike the conscientious objector's way of dealing with war.

HENRY J. CADBURY

CORRECTIONS TO MEMBERSHIP LIST

A LIST of the members of Friends Historical Association was published in the BULLETIN vol. 30 (1941), spring number, pp. 50-64. Such a list is of course constantly in flux; and we publish herewith additional lists intended to bring the record down to date. The new members number 118; the losses by death and resignation number 96. Thus there is a net gain in the two-year period of 22.

The changes in membership have their very special interest, like the votes of mugwumps or unpledged delegates at the time of an election. Many of those listed among the new members should have joined years or decades ago; evidently their joining now is a happy accident—some concerned member spoke just at the right time, or some article in the BULLETIN aroused a latent interest, or perhaps the life and works of the Association have only just succeeded in swimming into the joiner's ken—for the Association carries on no extensive campaign of advertising. If our own members carried the torch with crusading zeal, or if they merely brought the matter of membership to the attention of this or that friend who obviously "ought" to join, our list of additions would grow considerably.

The list of deaths contains many names of time-honored and beloved friends who have served the Society and our Association well. First on the list is James H. Atkinson, who was the last survivor of the original membership of Friends Historical Association, founded in 1873, with which the Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1904, merged in 1923. James Atkinson had thus been a member of Friends Historical Association for seventy years at the time of his death, though it should be added that the Association had been inactive for some years preceding the merger. His picture, in a group of the four members of the older Association still surviving in 1923, was published in the BULLETIN in vol. 13 (1924), spring number, as frontispiece; from that time on to the present he has been recorded as Honorary Treasurer. A Minute on his death is printed on page 4 of this issue of the BULLETIN. It would not be fitting for a single individual to pick out other names for special mention; but each

member, as he reads the list, will find many names of dearly loved friends and of Friends known for loyal and helpful service.

The list of resignations arouses reflections of a different kind. The membership dues of two dollars a year would seem to be trifling; yet no doubt as one of many similar small sums this expense is subject to critical inspection each year, and each year some of our members decide "no." Perhaps the fact that most of the Association's activities are carried on in the neighborhood of Philadelphia discourages the distant members: this might account for ten of the fifty-five resignations. The BULLETIN attempts to be more or less national in its coverage, but not always with complete success. The Editor reflects with chastened spirit that the BULLETIN is the chief or only avenue of communication between the Association and such members. If the BULLETIN were more adequately edited . . .

Of course, some have joined for special reasons which no longer apply. Admission is not through a one-way gate. The Association hopes that its ideals, however faulty their achievement, may continue to command the respect of its members, and of a larger fringe of those who ought to be members, but who somehow have not yet joined.

ADDITIONS TO THE MEMBERSHIP LIST SINCE THE SPRING OF 1941

Allen, Elizabeth C. B. (Mrs. William C.), 24 West Street, Media, Pa.
Ambler, Thomas Sayre, "Grindleton," Ambler, Pa.
Anderson, Bart, 225 N. High Street, West Chester, Pa.
Appel, John C., Paradise, Pa.
Armour, Alexander W., 6 Mercer Street, Princeton, New Jersey
Baily, William L., 411 Lancaster Avenue, Haverford, Pa.
Balderston, C. Canby, 601 Childs Avenue, Drexel Hill, Pa.
Bassett, T. D. Seymour, 2067 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Beck, Henry, S. W. Cor. Germantown Ave. and Cambria St., Phila., Pa.
Beck, John D., 440 N. Marshall Street, Phila., Pa.
Biddle, Clement M., Northgate, Alger Court, Bronxville, New York
Blain, West E., West Chester, R. D. 5, Pa.
Bonner, Rebecca K., Torresdale, Phila., Pa.
Booth, Isabel J. (Mrs. Newlin T.), New Castle, Delaware
Brey, Jane Taylor (Mrs. R. Newton), 3122 W. Penn Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Brey, R. Newton, 3122 W. Penn Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.

Brinton, Francis D., Oermead Farm, West Chester, Pa.
Bunting, Anna Miller (Mrs. Morgan), 1205 Lansdowne Ave., Darby, Pa.
Carter, Mrs. John D., The Knoll, Lansdowne, Pa.
Cleaver, Helen C. (Mrs. Jonathan), 1652 Butler Pike, Conshohocken, Pa.
Coles, Charlesanna B., 5311 Baltimore Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Conard, Irene D. S. (Mrs. Edward B.), Highland and Montgomery Aves., Oaks, Pa.
Cope, Paul M., Hotel Morton, Atlantic City, New Jersey
Dewees, Arthur M., So. Valley Road, Paoli, Pa.
Dixon, James, Easton, Maryland
Doan, Martha, Westfield, Indiana
Drake, Constance LaBoiteaux (Mrs. Thomas E.), 2 Pennstone Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Eaton, Eleanor Baxter, 322 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, New York
Egan, James Herbert, 409 Fishers Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Egan, LaRue M. (Mrs. James Herbert), 409 Fishers Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Elkinton, Thomas W., 45 E. Maple Avenues, Moorestown, New Jersey
Emlen, John T., 36 W. School Lane, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Eshelman, John E., Fleetwood, R. D. 1, Pa.
Evans, Harold, Awbury, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Eyre, Sara J., Abington Friends Home, Norristown, Pa.
Flaherty, Emma Covington (Mrs. Samuel M.), 28 E. Glenolden Avenue, Glenolden, Pa.
Foulke, Thomas A., Butler Pike, Ambler, Pa.
Fraad, Henry O., R. D. 2, Westport, Connecticut
Frazer, Grant Van Leer, 7102 Hilltop Road, Upper Darby, Pa.
Gilbert, Dorothy Lloyd, Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C.
Goodwine, Lucy V., 88 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y.
Griscom, Mary L., The Whittier, 15th and Cherry Streets, Phila., Pa.
Haines, George, IV, 305 W. Miner Street, West Chester, Pa.
Haines, Robert B., III, 6026 Germantown Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Hartz, Annie E. D. (Mrs. John S.), 304 Arch Street, Phila., Pa.
Haviland, J. Bernard, Westtown School, Westtown, Pa.
Henze, Marguerite, 2259 N. 17th Street, Phila., Pa.
Hetzel, Frederic V., 760 College Avenue, Haverford, Pa.
Hill, Carlyle H., 27 St. Martins Road, Colwick, Merchantville, N. J.
Hinshaw, Cecil E., Friends University, Wichita, Kansas
Hoag, Anna S. (Mrs. Clarence G.), 619 Walnut Lane, Haverford, Pa.
Hull, Hannah Clothier (Mrs. William I.), 504 Walnut Lane, Swarthmore, Pa.
Hulme, Arthur K., 7947 Winston Road, Phila., Pa.
Hulme, Mary Biddle (Mrs. Arthur K.), 7947 Winston Road, Phila., Pa.
Hunt, Mabel Leigh, 2933 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana
Jenkins, Edward A., 506 N. Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pa.
Jones, J. Barclay, Radnor, Pa.

Kaltenbach, John E., Cold Brook Farm, Glen Moore, Pa.
Kelley, Nicholas, 70 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Kent, Mrs. Juliet (Mrs. Arthur W.), 345 Vassar Avenue, Swarthmore, Pa.
Kimber, Thomas, 849 N. Mariposa Avenue, Los Angeles, California
Kneeland, Glenna Vere (Mrs. Richard C.), 6187 S. E. Taylor Court, Portland, Oregon
Knollenberg, Bernhard, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
Libby, Frederic J., The Ontario, Ontario Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Lindley, Harlow, Ohio State Museum, Columbus, Ohio
Longstreth, Walter C., 140 N. 15th Street, Phila., Pa.
MacGugan, Elizabeth S. (Mrs. Daniel), 22 Fairview Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Mackensen, William, 5755 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Marks, Jeannette, Wesport, Essex County, New York
Mohr, Walter H., George School, Pa.
Mullowney, John J., Founders Hall, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
Nason, John W., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Nicholson, Samuel L., Muncy, R. D. 4, Lycoming County, Pa.
Noble, Ethel Roberta, 2246 Bryn Mawr Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Palmer, Walter, Media, R. D. 2, Pa.
Patterson, Mary Sullivan (Mrs. Henry C.), Wallingford, Pa.
Paxson, Chauncey G., Holicong, Bucks County, Pa.
Peaslee, Amos J., Clarksboro, New Jersey
Platt, Edith Stratton (Mrs. Joseph E.), Glen Mills, Pa.
Platt, Floyd Sellers, 69 W. Trenton Avenue, Morrisville, Pa.
Pollock, Frank Scott, 2801 W. 6th Street, Wilmington, Delaware
Price, Joseph Haines, Norristown, R. D. 4, Pa.
Reeve, Juliet, 620 Everett Street, Wichita, Kansas
Richardson, Henrietta M. (Mrs. Henry), 236 Van Houten Avenue, Passaic, N. J.
Scarborough, Howard, 263 Rochelle Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Seeley, Cordelia Morris (Mrs. Oscar), So. Valley Road, Paoli, Pa.
Shirk, Newman, Concordville, Pa.
Shortlidge, Helen W. (Mrs. Jonathan C.), Westtown School, Westtown, Pa.
Silver, John A., 505 W. Chestnut Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
Spitz, Armand, 418 S. Wycombe Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
Stanislawski, Dan, Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
Steer, Alfred G., 140 S. Lansdowne Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
Steere, Douglas V., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
Stewart, Mary Elizabeth, 1000 Walnut Street, McKeesport, Pa.
Stilz, Ethel, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
Stinnes, Edmund H., 601 Walnut Lane, Haverford, Pa.
Streightoff, Frances Doan (Mrs. Frank H.), 733 E. 33d Street, Indianapolis, Indiana
Taylor, C. Marshall, Cole Road, Montclair, New Jersey
Taylor, Lydia Foulke (Mrs. J. Hibberd), 23 Summit Ave., Larchmont, N. Y.

Thomas, Wilbur K., 134 Hilldale Road, Lansdowne, Pa.
Tripp, Myron L., Taylor University, Upland, Indiana
Turner, J. Archer, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Vaux, Anne Hawks (Mrs. George), The Thicket, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Vernon, Anna, Pendleton, Indiana
Vining, Elizabeth Gray (Mrs. Morgan F.), 6347 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Walker, Lila C. C. (Mrs. Jacob B.), 1331 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
White, Barclay, Lansdowne, Pa.
Whitney, Janet (Mrs. George G.), Westtown, Pa.
Wilcke, Christine (Mrs. Henry), 1303 W. Roosevelt Blvd., Phila., Pa.
Wilcke, Henry, 1303 W. Roosevelt Blvd., Phila., Pa.
Williams, H. Justice, 1924 Delancey Street, Phila., Pa.
Wood, Alexander C., Jr., Riverton, New Jersey
Wood, Blanche Merrick (Mrs. L. Wistar), 3904 Locust Street, Phila., Pa.
Wood, Richard R., 304 Arch Street, Phila., Pa.
Woodward, Graham C., 1103 Land Title Bldg., Phila., Pa.
Worth, Anna M. (Mrs. Edward H.), Claymont, Delaware
Worth, Edward H., Claymont, Delaware
Wright, Alfred W., 52 E. Elm Street, Norristown, Pa.

Deaths

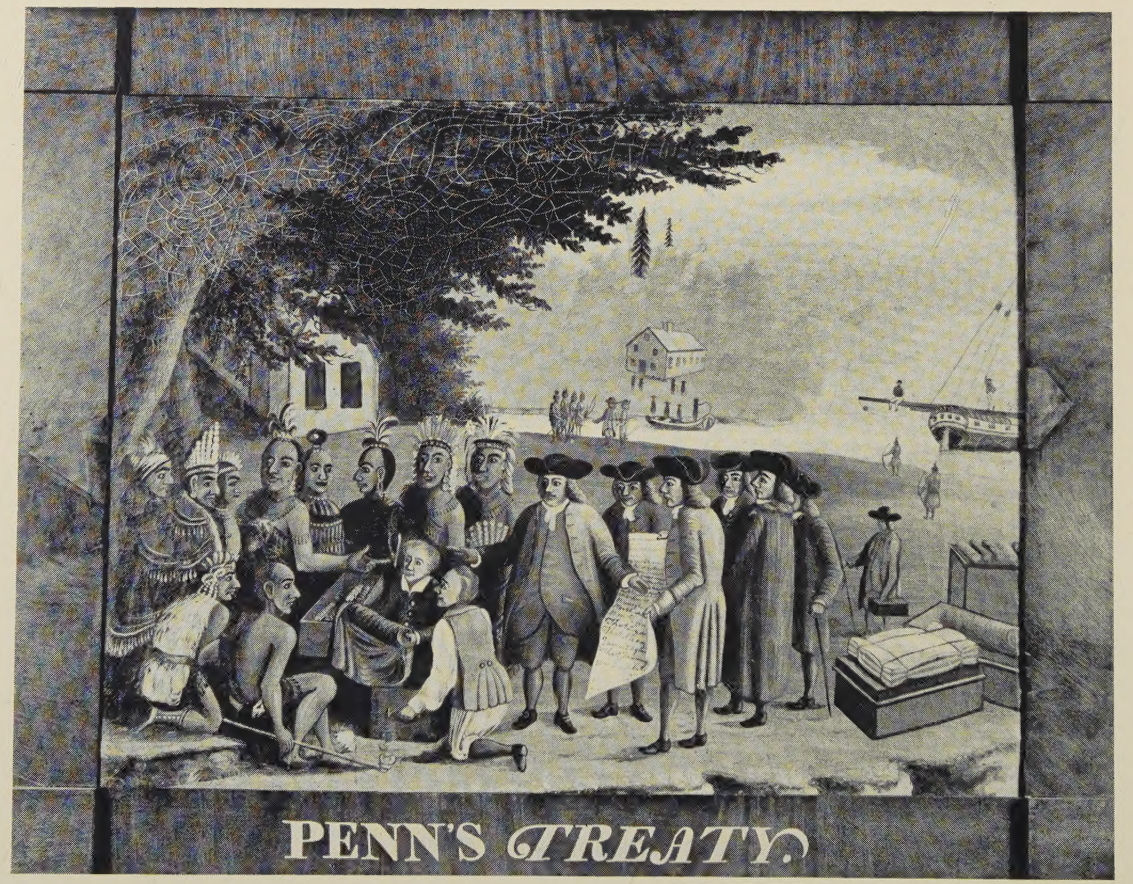
Atkinson, James H., 305 W. Main St., Moorestown, N. J.
Balderston, Gertrude E. (Mrs. C. Canby), 601 Childs Ave., Drexel Hill, Pa.
Barrett, Don C., Indianapolis, Indiana
Biddle, William C., Lansdowne, Pa.
Bishop, Eliza R., 4813 Trinity Place, Phila., Pa.
Branson, Craig R., 5534 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Busch, Henry Paul, 1006 Spruce Street, Phila., Pa.
Cornell, Edward, Central Valley, New York
Cravath, Paul D., 15 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.
Elkinton, Eleanor R. (Mrs. William T.), 65 Haddon Ave., Haddonfield, N. J.
Garrett, Mary M., Lansdowne, Pa.
Garrigues, John S., Haverford, Pa.
Gill, Ephraim Tomlinson, Haddonfield, New Jersey
Jones, Edward M., 114 W. Coulter Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Lamborn, Maria D., 3224 Powelton Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Lincoln, Anna T., Old Town Hall, Wilmington, Del.
Mason, Alfred C., 250 Harvey Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Maxfield, Ezra K., 311 E. Beau Street, Washington, Pa.
Mickle, Robert T., 21 S. 12th Street, Phila., Pa.
Miller, Isaac P., 600 Haydock Lane, Haverford, Pa.
Morgan, Mary Churchman, 408 S. 45th Street, Phila., Pa.
Muschamp, Robert, Spout Bank, Heap Bridge, Bury, Lancashire, England

Parsons, Ella, The Belgravia, 1811 Chestnut Street, Phila., Pa.
Reed, Dr. Willoughley H., 2011 W. Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
Shoemaker, Edward C., 904 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
Smedley, William Henry, Frankford, Phila., Pa.
Smith, Esther Morton, 117 W. Coulter Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Tatum, Edward Parry, Lansdowne, Pa.
Taylor, Emily H., 239 Gowen Avenue, Mount Airy, Phila., Pa.
Thatcher, Mrs. Albert G., 216 S. Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pa.
Thomas, Arthur H., Oakley Road, Haverford, Pa.
Vail, Frederic Neilson, 1135 N. Monroe Street, Stockton, Calif.
Webster, Emilie Shoemaker (Mrs. Edward B.), 3623 N. 16th St., Phila., Pa.
Whiteley, Mrs. Ida O. (Mrs. George H.), 905 S. George Street, York, Pa.
Wildman, E. Theresa, 4324 Larchwood Avenue, Phila., Pa.
Williams, Parker S., 1632 Chestnut Street, Phila., Pa.
Woodward, Charles E., 140 Blackstone Avenue, LaGrange, Illinois
Worth, Herbert P., West Chester, Pa.
Wright, Ethel L. J. (Mrs. Minturn T.), 130 W. Chestnut Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
Yarnall, David G., Hamilton Court, 39th and Chestnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
Zelley, Miss Alice, 17 W. Union Street, Burlington, N. J.

Resignations

Abbott, Francis M. (Mrs. Henry E.), 4675 N. 16th Street, Phila., Pa.
Aydelotte, Marie J. O. (Mrs. Frank), Princeton, N. J.
Barnard, Clara H., 6300 Greene Street, Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Beatty, Edward C. O., 440 Normal Road, DeKalb, Ill.
Borton, George W., Liberty Trust Building, 17th floor, Phila., Pa.
Bromley, Ernest R., 1002 Eighth Street, Durham, N. C.
Brownell, Eleanor O., The Shipley School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Brookes, George S., 62 Union Street, Rockville, Conn.
Burton, Mrs. Clara Moore, Chester Heights, Pa.
Chambers, Sara D., 1452 N. 53rd Street, Phila., Pa.
Clothier, Isaac H., Jr., 8th and Market Streets, Phila., Pa.
Cox, John, Jr., 7 E. 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.
Dann, Robert H., 725 N. 29th Street, Corvallis, Oregon
Dewees, Hannah G., Haverford, Pa.
Dixon, Emma Needles, 207 Wendover Road, Guilford, Baltimore, Md.
Edler, Emma K., Belgravia Hotel, 1811 Chestnut Street, Phila., Pa.
Elfreth, Anna E., 134 Rex Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
Evans, Walter, 73 Highland Avenue, Haddonfield, N. J.
Furman, Dr. Horace S., 1707 W. Tioga Street, Phila., Pa.
Garrett, Anna M., 8 Church Road, Ardmore, Pa.
Goodhue, Mrs. Francis, 340 Louella Avenue, Wayne, Pa.
Harvey, Evangeline L. (Mrs. George B.), Bancroft Road, Moylan, Pa.

Harvey, George B., Bancroft Road, Moylan, Pa.
Hollowell, Israel, Huntington Valley, Montgomery County, Pa.
Howland, Alice G., The Shipley School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Hotson, J. Leslie, Garrison P. O., near Baltimore, Maryland
Johnson, Howard Cooper, Moylan, Pa.
Jones, Isaac S. H., Croyden, Pa.
Lewis, Clifford, 3rd, 240 S. 4th Street, Phila., Pa.
Luker, Amanda Richardson (Mrs. James C.), 914 Hudson Street, Gloucester, N. J.
MacIntosh, Archibald, 3 College Circle, Haverford, Pa.
McCadden, Joseph J., 25 Barry Road, Scarsdale, N. Y.
Mellor, Elizabeth M., 131 Harvey Street, Germantown, Pa.
Monaghan, Anna J., 3309 Baring Street, Phila., Pa.
Moore, Ella, 206 Edgemont Street, Media, Pa.
Perry, Harvey C., Westerly, Rhode Island
Post, Amy L., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
Pyle, Robert, West Grove, Pa.
Read, Theodore H., 7731 Rudderow Avenue, Merchantville, N. J.
Rewis, Millard, 501 Yale Avenue, Swarthmore, Pa.
Roberts, Elizabeth S., Moorestown, N. J.
Roberts, Jane L., 6439 Cherokee Street, Germantown, Pa.
Sharpless, Edward S., Moorestown, N. J.
Smith, Edith Mason, 940 E. Washington Lane, E. Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Sutton, S. Helena, The Pennsbury, 5431 Green St., Germantown, Phila., Pa.
Swain, Hannah Moore, Suffolk Manor, Broad and Clearview Sts., Phila., Pa.
Walker, Herschel Carey, Cherry Lane, Wynnewood, Pa.
Wallace, Philip B., 114 Washington Avenue, Haddonfield, N. J.
Walton, Francis R., 417 Anthwyn Road, Merion, Pa.
White, Jennie, 807 Madison Street, Chester, Pa.
White, Walter Rhoads, Westtown, Pa.
Wilcox, Thomas L., 1 W. Chestnut Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
Williams, Mary R. G. (Mrs. Henry S.), Walnut Lane, Haverford, Pa.
Worrell, Harriet E., 3415 Race Street, Phila., Pa.
Wright, C. P., Box 254, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada



Penn's Treaty with the Indians: Oil Painting by Edward Hicks